/4 cont./
French and English have been propelling their respective cultural influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem partial because of the great affection which I have for them and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish; they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks; originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth; formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/

/49 cont./

789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice
(754) of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in
the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that
(513) sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with
(224) leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the
(252) animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey
(755) into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out
(787) sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils;
believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage
that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite
(787) direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g.
moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's
song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list
••• for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier
wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or
rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog...,
following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical practices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To
855 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac-
846 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having
789 to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives. The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade, which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences, etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

Hunting

/82 cont./

and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver, traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater, manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas, large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls. Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location: the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings, garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children. Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets. Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only. Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh, other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/, flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama /gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers. The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes, been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization: knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files, mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But they still remember a time when they used to make their loincloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone

almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeaken, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalaboso, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyε' being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarε, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarε, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarε, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarε. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called abaʔ and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
[242] grass-covered. At Uruyén the toʔ-esaʔ, Reyes, in an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted casave[107] on it, but when we left

[107] [see footnote on p 119, category 116 - Analyst]

The several recent expeditions have provided the Indians with a considerable supply of enameled pots and plates, glass bottles and large tin cans, as well as a few table knives, forks, and spoons. The supply is not yet by any means sufficient to replace the native objects and as far as I could learn they were not articles of trade before these expeditions brought them in. Enamelware pots, which substitute for the breakable native earthenware of difficult manufacture, are eagerly sought, but the other European objects in this category are not much valued and some acquired from a previous party had already been discarded in favor of native ware. Even empty gasoline cans, which are almost priceless among many primitive people, did not seem to be especially valued. With the single exception noted, their own articles are actually better for their uses to the Kamarakotos and will not be replaced unless their mode of life changes completely.

Furniture.

The only furniture, even speaking broadly, consists of benches, hammocks, and cradles. The native bench, aponoi?, is hewn from a block of wood, usually leaving four legs at the corners, not inserted but cut from the same block as the seat (see Fig. 30). These are always very low, generally only 5-10 cm. in height, as the Indians find higher seats uncomfortable. There is a higher and more complex bench, murei, but this is used only by piaches (see "Magic and Religion"). Away from home, and often also at home, the Indians sit on their haunches rather than on a bench or on the ground, but every house does have one or two benches. They do not sit down to rest, but lie or sit in a hammock. (See Roth, 1924, Fig. 81 and accompanying text, for interesting data on the evolution and variation of benches in this broad area.)

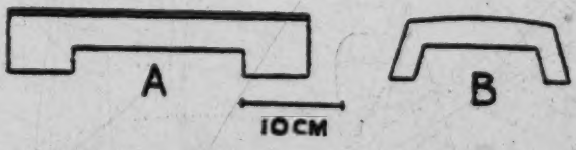

Fig. 30 — Kamarakoto Bench.
An aponoi?, hewn from a single block of wood.

As throughout tropical South America, all the Indians sleep in hammocks. Each individual has a hammock, kami, which he takes with him when traveling or visiting, and he never sleeps in any other way. The hammocks are made of